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to the analogy of inscriptions in his own country, use the word **MAQ** or **MAC** (the equivalent of the Cymric **MAB**) for the Latin **FILIVS**,—and so we find it.

A various reading is occasioned by the introduction of **M** in the first word, and by the substitution of **A** for **O** in the last. These are not philological difficulties; the analogies of the Erse and the Cymric tongues easily account for them. The only real difficulty lay in the absence of the Oghamic mark for **A** between those standing for **M** and **Q**. This occurred just at the point where a crack had unfortunately taken place. To most observers it would have seemed as if this mark did not exist; but, by following up the hint given by Professor Graves, and by use of a magnifying glass, the existence of a small circular depression on the edge—*cut in twain by the crack*—was satisfactorily established. All the other characters were so distinct as to admit of no doubt. The true reading of Professor Graves's alphabet was verified; and not only so, but the date of a specific example was closely approximated to.

We need not stop to point out the archæological interest which this stone possesses; it seems to be one of the earliest in Wales of the Romano-British type; and its probable date will henceforth help us in conjecturing the age of other inscriptions, in which the same palæographic characteristics are met with.

It remains only to add that, with the concurrence of our Association, the Rev. H. J. Vincent, who is one of our Local Secretaries for Pembrokeshire, is about to take steps for removing the stone, either to the interior of the parish church, or to some other place where it will be more certainly preserved than it now can be,—reclining, as it does, amid mantling ivy—"half embraced and half retiring"—against a mossy, fern-grown bank in his own beautiful garden.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

(Continued from Vol. II., page 384.)

SIR ROBERT CECYL, who had attentively studied the character of his royal mistress, has left it on record that the affairs of Ireland in an especial manner disturbed the composure of the royal mind; and, indeed, at times they were of a nature to ruffle the serenity of the calmest temperament. When the despatches of St. Leger and Norreys, touching the contemptuous marriage of Florence Mac

Carthy, reached the English cabinet, a Tudor hurricane burst with swift and fierce disaster upon all concerned in it. That the writers of these vexatious papers should themselves have escaped uninjured from the lightnings of that ruthless storm, was probably as much matter of wonder as of joy to themselves; but upon every member of the bridal party in the old broken church, the tempest fell with unmitigated fury. That any man should be found at such a moment to step forward and place himself between the anger of Elizabeth and the feeblest of its victims, is even more gratifying than it is surprising. There was one man in Munster who had the courage and the humanity to do this. It was a man who had long lifted up his voice against tyranny and iniquity in high places; who had, for "his own particular, held his even course of justice despite much obloquy and malice;" a man whose loyalty and honour were above attain; who had suffered many private wrongs from the kinsmen of the prisoners; who had every reason, save a manly feeling of compassion for the helpless, to hold his hand from any petition in the behalf of any of them. To the great honour of Sir William Herbert, he at once applied to the Vice-President in favour of the aged Countess of Clancarty, took upon himself the responsibility of her safe custody, made his own house her prison, and wrote to England the story of the domestic sorrows of that oppressed lady.

"1588. July 12. *To the R^t. HON. SIR F. WALSYNGHAM, K^t, principal Secretary to Her Most Excel^t Majestie.*

"R^t Hon: My most humble dewtie premised.

"Since my last letters unto your Honor touchinge the mariage of the Earl of Clin Carrs daughter, thear have beane hear apprehended by Mr. Vice President's direction, beasyde Florence Mak Cartye, whom the Bishop of Corke tooke, The Countes of Clincarr, Mak Finnin, and others, whoe wear all comitted to Castlemayne. Mr. Sprenge, whoe apprehended them, had alsoe warrant for O'Suillivan Moore, whoe then was not in the countrey, but upon his retorne hearinge of it, repayred unto mea, and submitted himself to Her Majestye, whereupon I took order with him for his repayr to Mr. Vice President; myself having noe further direction for him: but in respect that it was mayde apparant unto mea that the Countes had don nothinge in the matter, but with the priuitea and approbation of the Earl, and that hea now maketh shew of the contrary, and wishethe the Countess troble and ruin, that by her deathe hea might aduance him sealf to som newe mariage, whearbye Her Majestye's right for Remaynder may bea impeatched, I was mooued both in comiseration of the Countesses poore and lamentable estate, and to preuent what I might the euill that mowght insue of her troble, to beacom a Suiter unto the Vicepresident, for the enlardgment of the Countess out of that uile and unholosome place, and that shea might remayne with mea tyll Her Majestye's pleasure wear further known, which it pleased him to grawnt mea, whearof I have thought it my part to aduertise your Honor; conceauing, in my poore opinion, that

the Countess beaynge farr stroken in years, and without hope of childearne wear to bea faoured, and wheareas she liued in extream misery, hauinge all this last year but 20 nobles allowed her toe mayntayne her sealf, her daughter and famelye, a stipend more likely to starue them then to sarue them, shea by your honorable fauor may haue sofm portion allowed her of her husband's liuinge to mayntayne hersealfe in sofm goode sort, beaynge the wyfe, sister, and dawghter of an Earl, euer of verye modest and good demeanure, though matched with one most disorderlye and dissolute.

"Her affirmation touchinge the mariage is this (whitch shea offreth to proue by threa goode witnesses), that shea receaued a letter from the Earl toe repayr toe Corke, and thear to geau creadite to that whitch Patrike Galloway showld from him deliuer unto her, whoe thear gaue her to understande that it was the Earl's pleasure that shea showld send her dawghter ouer into Englande, or if shea thought not goode to doe soe, shea showld mary her daughter to Florence Mak Carty, and receau of him a band for the payment of toe or threa hundred pownde to the Earl of Clin Karr in England: to the whitch she answered that shea was willinge to send her daughter to Englande if thear had been any moneys sent ouer to furnish, or any fytt to attend her, or if any Gentlemañ of creadite had written that, at her cominge ouer, hea wolde haue had care of her; but to My Lorde of Clinkarrs care, soe unfurnished, and unprouided, shea durst not comitt her, and thearfore enclined to the oother cowrs, the Earl puttinge it to her choyce: she protesteth that shea neuer harde that Her Majestye had forbidden the mariage, but had only denied to pass to them the lande. Hearof I thought goode to aduertice your Honor, and that since this mariage I understand of another in hand no less dangerous, between Sir Owen O'Suillevan's daughter, beaynge the Lorde of Bear hauen, and one Donell Mak Cartye, the Earl of Clincarrs bass soñe, whom the inhabitants of Desmonde much affect; hea is the only man in theas toe cowntres that leadeth a loose, disloyall lyfe, shonninge all officers, and standinge upon his garde with some few folowers, though doynge noe oother harme; it wear very requisite hea wear taken; thear is goode matter to bea objected agaynst him to cut him off, he will ells in tyme bread some troble; for in the first discents Bastardie is no impediment, and hea is a person both willinge and able to doe mischeaf. I haue euer bean of opinion that hea was to bea apprehended; the Vice President howldeth another cours.

"It was prouidently layde down in Her Majestye's articles for the inhabitation of this prouince, that noe undertaker showld haue any bands of sowldiers in pay: I wolde it wear as well obsearued. I fear thear are, that to continew themselves in pay, can bea content to continew the province in troble, and I wonder it is soe quiett; for on the one syde the Gentlemen beaynge stroken, euill intreated, and abused, outrageous wordes and violent deads ryfe and comon towards all sorts of the Irish, on the oother syde the Vice President's sowldiers suffered to goe up and down the cuntrye, taking of mete and drinke and money for themselves and theyr woomen and boys uppon the poore people; it seameth unto mea the ready way to make the Irish weary of theyr loyaltie and of their lyues. Myself, accordinge to Her Majesty's directions, and to my most bownden dewtie howldinge an upright cours of justice, without respect of persons or nations, and endeauouring thearby to reduce theas parts

to a loue of justice and government, and to sutch quietnes and perfect obedience as Her Maiestye should noe more need to keap bands or garrisons hear then in Surrey or Midlesex, feal and fynd dayly the mislike and malice that is borne mea for it; whitch as I haue touchted in soñ former letters of myne unto your Honor, so to acquaynt your Honor more thorowly with the estate of things, I make bowlde to send to your Honor what of late I haue written theareof to Mr. Vice President and to Mr. Chiefe Justice, althowgh I looke theare for little remedye, yeat to discharge my dewtie, and to clear mysealf of that suspition that myght bea conceaued of mea, I layd the whole matter before them, whitch I humbly beseatch your Honor to vouchsaf the perusal of. Amonge many defects I fynde in theas partes, I fynde none more then of a goode Bishop, whitch I wish to bea an Irishman, for soe might hea doe most goode. I hear that one Pattinson is a suiter for it, a most undiscreat, rash, and dissentious man, no way fytt for any goode function, as hereafter I shall make more clear unto your Honor. In the mean tyme I most humbly recoñmend unto your Honor my poor endeouors in theas partes, wheareof sutch shall the effect bea as the countenance is that is geauen them; and without your honorable favor they must and will quayl; but I despayr not of that whitch I have ever found, and whitch I shall ever labor by the best meanes I may to demerite. I have sent your Honor, for a smale token of my most dewtifull goode will, a Goshawke. I wish shea prove as goode as shea is geauen with a goode hart. I cease further to trouble your Honor, and comitt the same to the tuition of the most Mightea.

“WILLIAM HERBERT.

“From the Castle of the Iland, 12 July, 1588.”

Posterity will award to the writer of this letter the praise due to an upright, fearless, and kind-hearted man; but to posterity it signifies little that “the countess was farr stroken in years and without hope of childearne,” or that the Queen’s charges would have been diminished by the suppression of the soldiers entertained at her Highness’s cost by the undertakers, contrary to the articles providently laid down; to the contemporaries of Herbert these were no matters of indifference; a child born to the Earl of Clancar would have extinguished many signories, nay, have “empeatched the Queen’s *rights*,” and the suppression of the soldiers would have suppressed their employers. The reader will presently see how trifling were the mislikes and calumnies to which the writer had hitherto submitted, in comparison with the fierce indignation which this letter excited.

This storm had gathered over the head of Florence at the beginning of July; an aggravated history of his offence had been sent home by Norreys himself, who had accused him of outwitting and deceiving him, and who might, not unnaturally, expect that some portion of the Queen’s anger would fall upon himself; and yet an entire month does not elapse before we find Sir Thomas writing home letters to the minister in favour of Florence.

He had, he said, become better acquainted with him ; he found he had erred in simplicity, not knowing her Highness' pleasure ; he was very penitent for his fault, and there was no denying to his good demeanour and carriage of himself, letters recommending him to favour.

Had this been a solitary instance in the life of Florence in which further acquaintance with him converted fierce hostility into sudden good-will, we might attribute it, as Browne did, to bribery, as probably Burghley did also, when he underlined Browne's bold assertion ; but wilier men, fiercer antagonists than Norreys, were examples of a conversion quite as extraordinary ; and we are at a loss to explain the fact, except by attributing it to the blandishments of his personal address, or a simulation of innocence so masterly as to make men look upon their previous conviction of his guilt as an injury for which reparation was due to him.

“1588. *July 28.* SIR THOMAS NORREYS to SIR F. WALSYNGHAM.

“R^t. Hon. My humble dutie premised.

“By my form^r l^{tes} I did at lardge advtize y^r Honor of the manner and meanes used by Mr. Florence McCartie, in contriving the marriage betweene him and the Erle of Clancarties daughter, and therefore thinke it nedeles to trouble your Honor further therewith ; but beinge now mynded to send over his man, he hath earnestlie entreated me to recomende him by my l^{tes} unto your Honor's good favour, wch I have the rather presumed to doe, as well by reason of the good demen^r and carriadge of himself, wherewith I have ben longer acquainted, as also for that havinge sundri tymes sithens his comitment had conference wth him, I fynde him verry penitente for his falt so offensive to her Majestie, protestinge that the ignorance of her Highness' pleasure, and no illmeaninge in himself was the cause of his error, the consideraçon whereof I leave to your Honor's grave judgment, and so comittinge the same to Godes holie tuiçon, doe most humble take leave this 28 July 1588.

“THOMAS NORREYS.

“Corke.”

The inquiry into this marriage, which had led to Sir Warham St. Leger's tracts upon the state of Munster, had brought many names into discredit, besides those actually concerned in it ; amongst others, blackened by the taint of alliance in blood to Florence, was the Lord Roche, the same who a few years earlier had attended Sir Henry Sidney at the Christmas meeting in Cork ; the interval had not improved his loyalty, whilst certain encroachments upon his country by the undertakers had much diminished his contentment. The minister was reminded that he had married a sister of James Fitz Morrice, the arch-traitor ; but as the Lord Roche set little value upon a character for attachment to the English Government, he

submitted to this revival of suspicions against him without a murmur. Not so another individual, also related to the arch-traitor, who had joined his lot loyally and earnestly with the Queen's cause. John Fitz Edmond Fitzgerald, of Clone, had not been alluded to in the official reports sent home from Munster; but it chanced that he was Florence's godfather, and the rumour in the country was, that the Countess of Clancar had asked his advice touching the marriage of her daughter with Florence, and that he had counselled its accomplishment. Against such an offence, the services of a whole life would have availed him little, and this loyal gentleman hastened to protest against the accusation as a malicious slander; this too was made a matter of state, and needed a despatch from the Vice-President to explain it. This despatch adds something to the details of Florence's marriage, and it is therefore laid before the reader.

"1588. *September 30.* SIR THOMAS NORREYS to SIR F. WALSYNGHAM.

"R^t Hon: My dutye most humblye pmissid.

"Mr. John Fitz Edmond of Cloyne havynge intelligence that some of his adversaries in England have informed your Honor that he should be a practyser in compassynge ye matche betwene the Earle of Clan Kartye's daughter and Florence Mc Kartye, and therefore requested me to certyfy my knowlege therin to yo^r Honor, for the better avoydinge the sayd suggestyon. And for that, upon the fyrst receipt of Her Maj^{ties} L^{tes}, I made verye earnest and diligent enquirye for all such as were compassers, or anye waye dealers in the sayd matche, it appered that the Countesse of Clankartye hersealfe had bene wth the sayd Mr. Fitz Edmond for advise and counsell therein, and that he utterlye refused anye waye to deale in the matter, altogether diswadinge the Countesse, and shewinge what dangers and incommodyties would thereof ensue to all that deale in the same, as by the testymonye of Mr. James Roanan and Wylliam Roache, boath mē of Corke, and verye suffytyent men, dyd appeere: in respeacte whereof, and the good caryage of the gentlemā beinge, since I had charge in this pvynce, verye forward, and alwayes readye and well furnyshed to answere anye services as neede requyred, and wythall most wyllinge to discour the bad practyses of lewd psones, I could not refuse to afford him my l^{re} to yo^r Hon^r, referrynge the consyderatyon thereof to yo^r Hon^r grave iudgement. So humblye takinge leave, I comytt yo^r Hon^r to God's most holye Tuptyon.

"THO^s NORREYS.

"Youghall, the last of Sept^r, 1588."

Time was creeping on; nearly six months had elapsed since the marriage, and no decision had yet reached Munster relative to the ultimate fate of the prisoners. Sir Thomas Norreys' letter of recommendation, and Florence's great penitence, might have produced their effect; the heart of the Queen might have relented. Florence and his friends were of good cheer; their restraint had been made as

light as was consistent with their safe keeping; and their evil-wishers were in alarm lest the dark cloud should bear its thunders over them, and explode harmlessly in the void—lest the marriage should be submitted to as a mischief past remedy, and the offenders be enlarged: moreover, certain passages in the noble letter of Sir William Herbert had produced an effect which added bitterness to the distasteful draft which Florence had presented to the lips of his enemies. Certain horsemen, who, rather by the connivance of the authorities in Munster, than by consent from home, had been allotted, at the Queen's charge, to the undertakers for their protection, were to be withdrawn, and the custody of each man's lands to be left to himself. This was considered, and scarcely without reason, as an invitation to every ejected Irishman to deal as he pleased with the men whom the Queen had herself enticed to dispossess him. To Sir Valentine Browne, who had placed himself beyond the barriers of Slieveogher, in the remotest and wildest tracts of Desmond, and had some twelve or more of these horsemen for his guard, this determination sounded like the inevitable doom of all his acquisitions, of all his toil, his outlay, and his hopes for his family. He was not an "importunate suiter, and had patiently borne many thwarts without troubling the minister;" but this last blow wrung from him a cry of anguish, which, though as just as it was piteous, fell upon hearts hardened—ears deafened against him.

Upon the memorable occasion when Sir Henry Sidney had passed his Christmas holidays in Cork, he thought it not unbecoming the dignity of the Privy Council, and his own, to inform them how that festives eason had been spent, namely, "in shows and tokens, the best the citizens had been able to devise to evince their loyalty." Sir Valentine Browne, in like manner, thought it not unseemly that he should inform the Lord Treasurer how Florence and his young bride were spending their honeymoon; and how, under mournful presage of coming ruin, he was himself making Christmas doleful in Dublin.

"1588. *Octob* 16. SIR VALENTINE BROWNE to WALSYNGHAM.

"I am not a shameles suitor, and cannot therefore advaunce my longer services w^t importunitie, and therefore have the more neade of such Hon: favours, whereof I had never more nead then now, havinge w^h manie thwarts beene greatlie burdened by chardge; firste ymployed as an undertaker, and my landes given from me by Her Ma^{tie} to th Earle of Clan Car^e, and next by dealinge w^h the same Earle for the redemp^{co}n thereof from him; and the more to increase the same, the horsemen allowed unto me, are w^h the rest to be presentlie dischardged, and so layde uppon my burden; wherein I crave your healpe to have a contynuaunce for four or five yeares of twelve onlie, for that I stand in greate doubte that all the Mc Carties will joyne against my three sonnes that are possessed

of those lands w^h Florence Mc Cartie did chieflie looke to have had uppon the marriadge of the Earle's daughter; and beinge soe (as I am advertised yt is), withoute her Ma^{tie} assistaunce, lyinge so farre remote from this state, they shall never be able to holde owte. Donell Mc Carthie, th- Earle's bastarde, is gone to the woodes, and lyethe as an owtelawe, resortinge contynually to the Mc Carthies of Carbrye, and is there secretlie supported. Yt were not good that those countreis shoulde be loste in th Erle's tyme for puttinge Her Ma^{tie} to greate chardge in recoveringe the same, except shee will yealde all unto them, as Florence Mc Cartye and his friendes dothe not sticke to reporte she will; and also allowe of the marriadge, w^h (as he falslie publishethe) was not forbydden him; and so at Corcke, where he remayneth w^h the resorte of his friends and th- Earle's daughter, w^h small restraynte, he rather reioyceth w^h banquettinge, then that he seemethe sorie for his contempte. And yf he and the rest were removed thence, and broughte to Dublin, it woulde be more securitye to her Highness, and cause them the better to knowe themselves. I am hartelie sorrie to heare of y^r often sicknes, and so praie to the Lord Almightye to restore you to pfecte healthe, and longe contynuaunce of the same.

"At Dublin this 16th of Octobre, 1588.

"Y^r Honor's bounden at co^mmaundment,

"VALENTYNE BROWNE.

"To the RT. HON. SIR F. WALSYNGHAM, &c."

Smarting under the disappointment attending their overtures with the Earl of Clancar for the hand and inheritance of his daughter, Nicholas Browne had vented his indignation in threats against the Earl, and Sir Valentine petulantly charged Sir William Herbert with having lent himself to promote the designs of Florence, and with using his official influence to bring this shame and indignity upon their family. Much angry correspondence passed between the parties; and Sir William, conceiving that his official character had been impugned, to the injury of the Queen's service, sent copies of the Brownes' accusations, and his own replies, to the English minister. Were it not for much incidental matter contained in these letters, it must have fallen to the author of this life of Florence himself to present to the reader such description as he was able of that remarkable body of men who, under the designation of undertakers, were destined by the policy of the English cabinet to introduce civility amongst our rude ancestors, and to form an Elizabethan nobility, which, reinforced a century later by the distinguished warriors of the Commonwealth, expanded into that brilliant territorial aristocracy which has shed so much splendour upon the country of their adoption.

Sir William Herbert (called, by a pleasantry of Nicholas Browne, Sir William hard-beard) was a grave and conscientious man, and, by his own testimony, was held in repute by all the bishops, judges, and magistrates of cities, and the gravest and

wisest of his province; his opportunities of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the characters of these enterprising men were unequalled, and therefore his account of them bears with it more authority than the author of these pages could claim for any opinion of his own.

“1588. *October 20.* SIR W. HERBERT to BURGHLEY.

“I have just caus to be agreaued that Her Majestye is abused wth sutch undertakers, I associated wth sutch companions, and an honourable accion disgraced wth sutch lewd, indiscreat, and insufficient men. I thinke mysealf nothinge too hasty in writinge to my Lo: Threasurer, for it is high tyme theas frawdys wear met wthal, and tyme doth not alter, but confirm my opinion. Theas horsemen are a superflous chardge unto Her Highnes: soe wrott I to Mr. Secretary som months since, and soe'avowed I to Mr. Attorney Generall at his beinge hear in Munster.”

“1588. *December 27.* HERBERT to BURGHLEY.

“My dislick of the proceedings hear, contrary to the purport of Her Majesty's articles, and the ground plott of this accion,¹ hath drawn upon mea the enmitea of Sir Valentine Browne, Sir Edward Denny, and others of that sort, that measur conscience by comodite, and law by lust. They are growne to a combinacion and a resolucion, resemblinge that mentioned in the 2^a chapter of the wisdom of Solomon, &c. &c.”

That Nicholas Browne should feel great wrath against the Earl of Clancar, who had made his position at once painful and grotesque, is natural and excusable; and had it not been for the officious interference of Sir W. Herbert, in the matter of the Queen's horsemen, this anger would doubtless have been concentrated on the Earl and his more favoured rival; but the dispute with Herbert for a while drew away his thoughts from the marriage, and all concerned in it. To this dispute we are indebted not only for considerable entertainment, but for some further illustration of the men who through life were Florence's bitterest enemies. The entire history of “the honourable accion” (the undertaking), certainly contains nothing more curious or more ingenuous than the concluding passage of the following letter, in which the writer points out to Walsyngham the precautions *he meant to take* to prevent such noble signories from falling into the hands of men that measured conscience by “comodite.” These lands had belonged to the Mac Carthies in the days when the English first set foot in the country; history gravely informs us that they had belonged to them in the days of Heremon and Heber (anno Mundi 2737), who were in their generation twenty-second in descent from Feniusa Farsa, King of Scythia, and

¹ The *undertaking* of the lands of the Irish.

twenty-sixth from Noah ! Donel Mac Carthy Mor was in life and health at the time this letter was written, and it may be doubted whether he entertained as clear a perception as the writer, of the nature of English tenure.

1588. Dec. 27. SIR WILLIAM HERBERT to WALSYNGHAM.

" I desire nothinge more then that my whole woords, deads, and de-meanure in theas parts may bea called in question. I dowbt not to have the testimoyne for mea, of the Bishops, Judges, Magistrates of citeas, and gravest and wisest of this province, the generall voyce of theas toe counties, the judgement of my Lorde Deputye, and of the Chief of this Estate; and the very letters and handwrytinges of my greatest adversaryes, whoes accusations shall prove myne ornament, and whoes combinations shall discover theyr shame, if I may have justice. I must confess, I have in hart abhorred many of theyr actions, but never any of themsealves. I have ever wished them well, but could not brooke that whitch I knew evill; they on the other syde detract and detest all my doynge; not becaus they are evill, but becaus they are myne. Hearof it is that Sir Edw^de Denye mislickes any that affects mea, tells everye body that hea will doe more for them then twenty Sir William Herberts, that hea is your Honor's coosen Germane, and that Ireland shall know him soe to bea before Easter; that I pretend the authoritea I have not, and exercies the Government never committed unto mea, endeavor to discharde a trust never reposed in mea, and delude the people with hope of reformations of iniuries, that lieth not in my power to procure. But having of recitall of woords far woors, and deads many, marvelous, injurious, which for threa especiall causes (beasydes many other), I have endured with great patience. First, for that hea was a Groome of her Majesty's privye chamber; secondly, for that hea was your Honor's kinsman; thirdly, for that whitch I will pass with greafe and scilence, and whitch tyme and his own actions will discover. Whearin he is spurred on by Springe, Constable of Castlemayne, assisted by Mr. Browne, with all oothers in theas parts that measure theyr conscience by theyr comoditie. I cannot omitt what passingly displeased mea. Thoes rare thinges in trewth of goode valew of the Duke of Medina Sidonea's cast into his hands, as I enterpreat, by God's providence (to the end they might bea presented to Her Majestyea), hea beayinge Her Highnes' sworne servant, of Her Privye Chamber, sworne counsellor of this province, sworne sheriff of this county, hea shewed ceayrteyn frends of his at his hous of Trally, and declared how hea ment to dispose of every part of them; som to this nobleman, some to that; one thinge thear was whitch coest threa thowsand Duketts in Spayn; that he sayed hea shoulde, but wolde not, bestowe upon your Honor; for that your Honor was allreadye sufficiently bent to doe him goode; but hea wolde beastow it upon anoother, that had diswaded Her Majestye from forgeavinge him the rent of his signorye, whome by that gift hea hoped to make his frend.

" For that I mean to take 6000 akers within the countye of Kerry, and am desirous to have oother 6000 akers in the countye of Desmonde, after the Earl of Glincarr's death, I beseech your Honorable favour and furtherance to Her Majesty that I may thear have Castle Logh, the Pallace,

and Ballicarbry, with 6000 akers of land about them. I write the rather thus tymely, if not out of tyme, least some other shoold first make means and suit for them."

It was not the fortune of Sir Valentine Browne to see this angry controversy to its end, for he was called away from all his earthly cares on the 8th day of February, 1588; his son Nicholas became the head of that adventurous family, heir to all the anxieties which had haunted his father—and they were neither imaginary nor trifling,—and of all the schemes for saving a noble signory from falling back into the hands of the man from whom he had won it by a shrewd mortgage, the Queen's patent, and the Queen's horsemen. Nicholas, as we shall see, was equal to the occasion. His feud with Herbert long continued to enliven the meetings of the Privy Council; but his fight for the signory of Molahuff displayed an energy and perseverance which fill us with admiration. The last mournfull autograph of Sir Valentine had not been without its effect; the banquettings in the Cork prison, and the festive hours which the young bride was spending with her husband were rudely interrupted. Orders came from England to separate the offenders. Florence was to be sent to Dublin, the Lady Ellen to be detained in safe keeping, though at large, within the city of Cork. Sir Warham St. Leger, as if the spirit of Browne had taken opportune possession of him, poured more of his prophetic warnings and timely remedies into the chamber of the Privy Council. Had the advice of this far-seeing man been taken—and it was, after all, not of a nature to shock the sensibility of the Privy Council by any extreme of severity,—the Queen might perchance have been spared many years of trouble, and what was of equal importance, in the opinion of the writer, more than £100,000 of treasure! The terror of Spanish invasion was the constant subject of despatches between Ireland and the English Ministers; and it was with the view to cut off foreign attempts that this rough statesman now wrote to the Council.

1588. Dec. 7. ST. LEGER to the LORDS.

"To cut of foraine attempts, and the daunger that maie growe to the disturbance of this Realme, the Seneschall, Patricke Fitzmorris, and Patricke Condone, nowe captyves in the Castell of Dublin, woulde be made *shorter* by the *heades* if they maie be brought within compasse of lawe; and if the white Knyghte and his sonn in lawe, Donoge Mac Cormack, kept them companie, they were well rydd out of this coñonwealth; and yf they cannot be brought within compasse of lawe, whereby they maie have their iuste desertes, then woulde they be coñytted to some safe prysone in Englande; for assuredlie yf they remaine where they are, they will, at one tyme or other, breake pryson, for the w^{ch}, yf they doe, they will cause the Queene to spende £100,000! they will never be goode excepte they were to be made againe newe, being periured wretches,

some of them having twyce forsworne themselves before me uppon the Testamente, and therefore yt were a good sacryfice to God to rydd them out of this worlde, where they will never do good. We have nowesente from hence to Doblyn to the L. Chancellor (by dyrection from the L. Deputie) Florence Mac Cartie, whoe contemptuously haith marryed the Earle of Clanker's onelie daughter, to answere that his doinges. It were good for this Goverment yf he were, for his contempte, keepte a prysoner duringe this daungerous tyme, he being a person that the mailecontentes of this provynce greatlie bende themselves unto, and the onlie man, in their conceiptes, lykelye againe to set up the House of the Garaldynes, of which he is dyscended by his Mother, whoe was daughter to Morrys of Desmonde, unkell to the late *wicked* Earle of Desmonde; by which parentage, together with his own, beinge dyscended out of one of the chiefe of the house of the Clankerties, he is like to be a person of greate power, yf he be not prevented, and his ambitious desiers cutt shorte, &c.

"And yf Sir Owen Mac Cartie were also appoynted to remayne in Englande and his twoe sonnes with him, tyll the worlde be quyeter, yt were a happie turne for this ende of Irelande; for assuredlie, My L., although Sir Owen be symple in shewe, yet is he a verrey ipocryte, and one that carrieth as cankerd a mynd towards English Goverment as anie one of them, yf he durste shewe it, &c. And chiefeleie yf the marriage of Florence M^cCartie maie be undone, and she marryed to some English Gentⁿ by the Queen's appoyntment; whereby her father maie be (by him that shall marrie her) dyrected to governe his countrie accordinge to the lawes of this realm, which is the daungereste countrie for forraigne invasyon to attempte, that appertayneth to this realm.

"WARHAM SAINTLEGER.

"From Corke, 7 Dec^r, 1588."

Some portion of this prompt policy was adopted. The advice was given in a letter dated the 7th of December; on the 19th of the same month came the order to despatch Florence to England. The postscript to the following letter will show how keen had recently become the official scrutiny into Florence's conduct in matters of more moment than his marriage.

1589. Jan. 28. THE LO. DEPUTY FITZWILLIAM to WALSYNGHAM.

"SIR,—Your 1^{er} of the 19th of the last, signifyinge your Honor's expectacon of Florence M^cCartie's dispatche thetherwards, I receaved not till the 19th of this instant, whome nowe I have sent by my man Chichester, this bearer, hauing not before receaved other direction thence, then for the separatinge of the yonge Lady from him, and the removinge of him from Corke to Dublin, both which were accomplished, and she delivered by the Erle her father's appointment to the keepinge of certaine of his own servants.

"P. S. I am credibly informed that one William Hurlye, late in England, followinge some causes of Florence M^cCartie, his M^r., under color of going into Ireland, slipt into France, where it is said he is: And that one

Allen Martin of Gallwaie ether is, or the last soñer was, with the D. of Parma, from the said Florence. I have sent to Gallwaie for that Allen Martyn to be brought unto me, yf he be there to be had; and I have laied for William Hurley at his retorne, whome yf I gett, I will send over unto your Honor.

“H. FITZ WILLIAMS.

“From Her Majesty’s Castle of Dublin, 28 Jan^r, 1589.”

On the 10th of February, 1589, in the company of Chichester, and with the curious attendance of his *fencing-master*,—a certain Patrick Cullen, whom, at his last being in England, he had induced to enter his service, and whom now his evil fortune took back to London, to finish a strange career upon the gallows,—Florence arrived safely in London, and was at once given over into the custody of Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of her Majesty’s Tower of London. The domestic arrangements of that establishment required certain quarterly returns to be made to the Privy Council of the expenses incurred for its inmates. From these returns, not all of which have perished, we are enabled to learn more of Florence than was known beyond those walls for a considerable period. For a long series of years those Tower bills had been headed by the name of James Fitz Gerald, the child of the great rebel. To that mournful roll the name of Florence Mac Carthy was now added for the first time. Subsequently it became as unfailing an ornament to those quarterly bills as had been that of his unfortunate cousin!

“The Demaundes of Sir Owen Hopton, Knight, Lewitennant of Her Majestie’s Tower of London, for the Diette and other chardges of prisoñrs in his custodie, from the Nativitie of our Saviour Christe last paste, 1588, till Th’ Annunciaçõn of our Blessed Ladye the Virgyn then nexte following, beeing one quarter of a yeare, as hereafter is particularly declared.

“Florence Mac Carty.

“For the dyette & other chardges of Florence Mac Carty from the x^h of Februarye, 1588, till the xxjv^h of March then nexte followinge, beeing vj weekes at xxvj^s. viii^d. the weeke. For himselfe, viij^d.

“Item, One Keeper at v^s. the weeke, xxx^s.

“Item, Fewell and Candell at iiij^s. the weeke, xxiiij^s.

“Total^{ls}, x^{li}. xiiij^s.”

A similar bill was sent in for the time intervening between 24th of June, 1589, and 24th of December then next following, with this difference, that two keepers, instead of one, are charged for; and for fewel and candel, 8s. instead of 4s. were allowed weekly. Attached to one of these bills is this brief notice:—“Florence Mac Carty, Esquire, prisoner 8 months; the cause best known to your Honors.—Referred to her Majesty.”

(To be continued.)

is an open-worked or interlaced strapping, about 2 inches long, and 1 broad. They are said to have been found, wrapped in a piece of leather, in the rampart of a fort in the parish of Kill, near Cootehill, county of Cavan, about forty years before they were purchased by the Academy, in 1843. During the interval they remained in the roof of a peasant's cabin, near the place where they were discovered. They are evidently much more modern than any of the foregoing, except the pampootas. Conjecture as to the use of these marvellous specimens of the Crispinian art might suggest the possibility of their having been used as inauguration shoes by the chieftains. Certain stones used at that ceremony in ancient times still exhibit the indentations in which the feet were placed on such occasions. These shoes are worthy of examination as a curious instance of the ingenuity of the maker, like shirts woven without a seam, and many other similar examples of handicraft."

I feel sure that, although the entire work cannot be fairly judged from such fragmentary examples, yet that enough has been placed before the Members of this Society to induce them, by purchasing the two parts of this Catalogue already issued, to aid in the completion of this truly national undertaking.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

(*Continued from page 246, supra.*)

Florence was now withdrawn from the country which his adversaries had declared he alone had kept in trouble and disaffection. What effect his withdrawal had upon the calm and the loyalty of Carby and Desmond we shall shortly see.

It is not a little remarkable that, amidst so many arrests, the Earl of Clancare himself should have been passed over. Had there been no head cleverer than his own to guide him through the tortuous ways by which he had advanced to this marriage—the seeming quarrel with Florence; the bargain with Browne; the appeal for the Queen's consent, and his absence from Ireland at the time of the marriage,—Donell Mac Carthy Mor would probably have been in the Tower of London, to welcome his son-in-law; but the contingency had been foreseen, and well provided for:—at an opportune moment, five gentlemen stepped forward and deposed that they were themselves witnesses that the Earl had consented to the marriage but "conditionally." So great had been his respect for

the will of his sovereign, that he had, on the delivery of the marriage deeds, expressly stipulated, in their hearing, that unless the consent of her Majesty were first obtained, all that he had done should have no effect in law. The evidence of these gentlemen, set forth in the document following, bore the Earl harmless through his share of the offence :—

“1588. *March 9.* A true copie of a condicion made betwixt Maister Florence Mc Carty and the Earle of Clancare.

“To all Xpian people to whome thies pnts may appertayne; knowe ye that we the pties whose names are underwritten thincking it charitable to testifie the truethe, especially being therunto required, at the request of the Right Hon: the Earle of Clancare, do wnesse as followethe, that wheare the said Earle hath covenanted and passed writings to Mr. Florence Mc Carty for the injoyning of his daughter, dame Ellen, to wife, and hathe by several deeds contracted wth the said Florence for the same; that upon the deliverye of all the sayd deeds, a condicion was mencioned by the said Earle by worde, and agreed unto by the said Florence, viz.: that yf the said Florence might procure Her Ma^{ties} assent to the same mariage, and procure his patent to his Daughter aforesaid, and to the heyres of her body, then they meant the said deeds should staund in full force, otherwise should be of no effect in lawe.

“In witnes whereof we have hereunto subscribed, and put our seales, being present at the delivery of the said Deeds, and the said contract between the said Earle and the said Florence.

“Dated the 9th day of the monethe of March, 1587.

“RYCHARD POWER.

“JAMES TRANT.

“DENIS FALVEY.

“PATRICK GALWEY.

“DERMODE LEYNE.”

Had nothing further happened to exasperate the mind of Elizabeth in the matter of Florence's marriage, it is probable that her womanly heart would have relented, and the storm have passed away without much damage to any of the parties concerned in it; but this was not destined to be the termination of the matter. The marriage itself had been sufficiently romantic; celebrated “in the old broken church, and with a mass,” amidst the magic scenery of the lake country, attended only by the aged Countess and O'Sullivan Mor, the first of the Earl's subordinate chieftains, with whom was the giving of the rod, the symbol of sovereignty over the half of Munster,—much more romantic was its sequel.

It has been seen that Sir Warham St. Leger had not contented himself with sending to the Minister a narrative of all he could discover concerning the time, manner, and contrivers of the marriage, but had traced out a dismal series of calamities likely to fall upon

the country, unless something effectual and speedy were done to cut off Florence in this first of his ambitious designs. The remedies he prescribed were reducible to two—to weaken his alliances, and to annul his marriage. The former consisted in prosecuting by course of law all who were connected with him, and in excluding him, if possible, from succession to the captaincy of Carbury. The present chief of that country was Sir Owen Mac Carthy. The tanist, or successor to him was Donell, called “na Pipy” (from certain pipes of wine cast ashore upon his lands); and the successor to Donell was Florence. Donell, as we have mentioned, had bound himself in bonds of £10,000 not to surrender his lands to the Queen, and to turn the succession from its due course. The existence of this contract was well known in Munster; for it had been submitted to Sir John Popham, the English Attorney-General, when in Ireland. Donell had sons of his own, and would willingly have evaded this contract, had there been any possibility of escaping from the bonds: it occurred, or was suggested to him, that his ancestor, Finin M'Dermot, had, several generations back, placed his country under English law and succession, and that by virtue of letters patent then granted, he, Donell, ought at that very moment to be Lord of Carbury; for his father had been Sir Owen's eldest brother, and he ought to have succeeded to him. The support of this claim, which Donell was thrust forward to assert, was one of the devices proposed by St. Leger. Its success, at best, was very doubtful, and must under any circumstances be a work of time. It gave Florence no concern.

The second suggestion—the disallowing of the marriage, and the bestowing the heiress, together with a patent of inheritance of the Earl's country, on some English gentleman who would be answerable for her father's loyalty—was a more serious matter. Florence knew that this was no idle threat; he knew that overtures had already been made to the Earl to induce him to claim the custody of his daughter; and the lawyers had pronounced that with him rested the power to dispose of her hand, for she was under age. Florence knew too well the character of his father-in-law to doubt for an instant what course he would take, if the Queen insisted upon divorcing his wife from him. His resolution was taken at once; there had been no hesitation in the old broken church—there was none now! It would appear from Sir Warham St. Leger's letters that the Lady Ellen had been delivered to the custody of the “gentleman porter;”¹ Sir Thomas Norreys says, “to a merchant of the town,” where she was allowed all freedom consistent with her safe keeping: the Lord Deputy wrote that she had been entrusted to “certain servants of the Earl,” and Florence declared that the

¹ An officer attached to the staff of the Presidents of Munster.

Earl had, by Sir Valentine Browne's means, procured letters to the commissioners of Munster to deliver her into *his* hands. However this may have been, and whoever were her keepers,—and the issue makes it highly probable that the officers of the Earl were really the parties,—it happened that one day early in February, a few days after Florence's arrival in London, and towards dusk, at the closing of the town-gates, two female figures passed outward from the city of Cork without question; they were joined by a peasant who had been seen loitering about in the neighbourhood, and in a few minutes the three became dim in the distance—lost in the twilight. That night the gentleman porter, or the merchant, or the servants of the Earl, saw no more of their prisoner. The Lady Ellen was gone! and for nearly two years she might have been numbered with the dead for aught that the Vice-President, the Lord Deputy, or Mr. Justice Smythe, could discover to the contrary.

To the lot of Sir Warham St. Leger it fell to announce this flight, as it had fallen to advertise Her Majesty of the marriage of Florence. Sir Thomas Norreys was absent, as he had been formerly absent; and now, as then, his despatches followed, telling, with trifling variations and the addition of a few conjectures, the same provoking story. Instant was the pursuit, keen the search after the fugitive! The authorities of Munster, and the Lord Deputy, were not without their practised espys and intelligencers; but the prisoner in the Tower was better served than they were. Mr. Justice Smythe, as it appeared, could make a discovery that was sufficiently curious; but how this girl, probably not above sixteen or seventeen years of age, had managed to escape, or what had become of her, it passed his ingenuity to find out.

"1589. February 18. SIR WARHAM ST. LEGER to L^d BURGHLEIGH.

"I judge it my dutie to advertise you what hath happened since I last wrote. The yonge Ladie (beinge comytted in this Towne to the safe keepinge of the Gentleman Porter), on Fridaie wass a sennighte, late towarde nighte, aboute the shuttinge of the gates, stale out of this Towne disguysed, and a maide of hers with her. What is become of her it cannot yet certenlie be learned. I am informed (by a gentleman of good credyt, of the countrie of Carburie, whence Florence Mc Cartie is) that a man of the saied Florences, called Bryan Carda, in English called Bryan of the Cardes (a nickname geven him, because he is cunnynge at the cardes), receyved her without the gates, beinge her guyde. Whither she is gone; and yf that be true, then her departure out of this Towne is not without the consente of the saied Florence; and it is greatlie to be presumed that he is acquaynted with her goinge, for that he sente a messenger unto her secretlie from Doblyn, upon whose cominge unto her, and returninge unto him againe, she the morrowe after stale out of this Towne.

"Her conveighance is marvellous secretlie kept, and a greate cunnyng used by her close keepeinge, thinkinge thereby to keape her absent tyll she be of full yeres of consente irrevocable, he doubtinge, that yf she sholde have ben delyvered unto her Father (she beinge under yeres), her father might perswade her to yeld to be devorsed from Florence; the which might very well have ben doñ, had she not ben conveighed awaie as she is.

"She was the slenderlier lookte unto by the gentleman porter, for that the said Florence, before his departure out of this Towne to Doblyn, entered in band of recognisaunce before me of fower hundred poundes to the Quenes Ma^{tie} use, that she sholde remayne in this Towne true prysoner till she were delyvered by order from Her Highnes out of Inglande: the which bande he haith forfected to her Ma^{tie} (a thinge that wolde not be let goe with him); by this (and other) forfeitures Her Highnes maye take into her handes a castell and lands of great importaunce, called Castell Lough, the which the said Florence haith in mortgage of the Earle of Clancartie for the sum of fower or fyve hundred Poundes he lente to the saide Earle. It is the strongeste scytuacon of a castell that is in Irelande; a thinge of that force, as a lytle fortyfycacon would make yt imprignable, and therefore (not offendinge in this my writinge), a matter not to be forstoude, but Her Highnes to enter thereon. (The Castle stands in a great Lough, where there is great store of orient pearls found.)

"WARHAM SAINTLEGER."

"1589. *March 8. NORREYS to WALSYNGHAM.*

"R^t Hon: my dutie pmised wth all humilitie. At such tyme as I was called by the Lo. Deputie to the service in Ulster, it pleased His Lp. to send direction to Sir Warham St. Leger, and the Justices to whom in my absence the chardge of the Province was comitted for the sendinge upp of the yonge Ladie of Clancartie to Dublin, w^{ch}, as well in respecte of her yong yeares, as for wante of convenient meanes to convey her thether, they did not greatlie hasten; and moved wth pittie, not suspectinge any gyle, were pswaded to allow her the libertye of the Towne, and to comitt her to the chardge of a merchant, onelie takinge bandes of Florence Mac Carty that she shold remayne treu prisoner there, who, as I am crediblie informed, hath by secret meanes seduced her to abandon the place, and to convey herself either to England or ellswhere, covertlie to be shrowded, abusinge thereby the lenity that hath ben used towards her, and practisinge by this meanes to pvnt y^t w^{ch} y^r Honors hath determined, w^{ch} I have hetherto consealed, beinge still in hope, by some means to have notice of her, whereof beinge now somewhat dowtefull, and having wthall so good opportunity, I thought it my dutie to advertise yo^r Hono^r thereof, as well in myne owne dischardge as to make him better knowen unto yo^r Hono^r who hath ben the worker of it, leaving the consideracon thereof to your Honor's grave judgment, and so forbearing at this tyme furdre to trouble your Honor, comitt the same to Gode's Holie tuicon.

"THO^s. NORREYS.

"Shandon, 8 March, 1588."

"1589. *March 11.* MR. JUSTICE SMYTHE to WALSYNGHAM.

"My dewti to your Honor most humbly remembred. Pleasth the same to be advertised, that wee cannot learne as yett whether Clancarty's daughter hath conveyde herself, although eversithens her departure, nowe a monthe paste, her neareste alies, fosterers, and frinds remayne in durance, to make them thereby declare their knowledges of her. It is thoughte by us here to have happened by the practices of Mr. Florance M^cCarty. She is nowe knowne not to be w^h chylde, as he untreuly made us belive she was. In my late beinge in Dublin, I heard that Florence was apointed by our foreyne enemyes to be L^d President of Mounster by a Spanish comyssion. He hath forfeited a Recognizans of £400 by her escape and flight, in w^h he was bound shea shold remayne trew prysoner, and nott seeke to escape.

"J. SMYTHE.

"11 March, 1588."

No wonder that the Irish despatches should force from Elizabeth the exclamation that "she was weary of hearing them," and from Cecyl the remark that "he could not blame her." They had scarcely had time to lay the letter of Sir Thomas Norreys in favour of Florence before the Queen, and to consider it in the Privy Council—the assurance of Florence's good carriage and repentance was still sounding in their ears, when the tidings of this fresh contempt reached them. One single crumb of comfort the Munster correspondents could find in this banquet of evil news. The lady's husband *must* have been cognizant of her escape, although their endeavours to prove such knowledge had utterly failed, and although he forfeited a large sum of money by her flight: he *must* have known it, reasoned the Vice-President, and therefore his securities were forfeited. And Castle Lough was worth the Queen's notice; for great store of orient pearls were to be found in the lake in which it stood, and a little outlay might make it impregnable. Thrice happy the man who should find himself commanding a garrison there!

In dispensing with the Queen's permission for his marriage—in seducing away his wife from her keepers in Cork,—for so Sir Thomas Norreys asserted that he did,—Florence had, doubtless, made up his mind to the consequences, and he could not have been taken by surprise at finding himself a prisoner in the Tower. In viewing his position at the worst, there was not in it, after all, anything to cause him very serious alarm: the question of divorce was at an end; and for what remained, a word adroitly spoken by Cecyl or Burghley, Stanhope or Raleigh, might suffice to make his peace with Elizabeth. Browne, Norreys, and St. Leger had their enemies, as well as other men—and all men's enemies were to be found at the Court—and every passage connected with that marriage, from the day when Florence's plausibility induced Sir Thomas Norreys to send him into Desmond with authority to possess him-

self of the Earl's lands, to that autumn evening when the lady vanished from the custody of St. Leger—from the time when Browne the elder settled to his satisfaction the price for his son's bride, to the day on which, to the great scandal of Sir William Herbert, Browne the younger raved about "an Italian fig" for the lady's father—possessed too many traits of solemn absurdity for the gravity even of the Privy Counsel to resist. That Florence's enemies looked upon his offence as a matter not likely to be attended by any lengthened or severe punishment, may be judged from the alacrity with which they dropped all mention of the marriage as soon as they bethought them of anything more serious with which to charge him. That any man in Ireland could find aught else of which to accuse him, Florence was ignorant till he reached London. On the day after his arrival he had passed from the hands of Chichester to the custody of Sir Owen Hopton, and nearly six weeks passed away before any further notice was taken of him. This interval was doubtless spent in collecting—not, indeed, evidence against him, for none was eventually produced—but such loose charges as were thrown out by his enemies, with the hope of inducing his judges to make the offence of his marriage a plea for his continued imprisonment. At last, on the 23rd of March, the important examination, which Florence must have been daily expecting since his arrival, took place; whether in the imposing presence of the Privy Council, or of officers deputed by them, we know not; if before the Lords themselves, Florence must have found himself in the presence of old acquaintances, and even friends. There was a certain stern simplicity about the examination that ensued: the questions were put to him, and his answers noted down; there was neither pleading nor reproach; no attempt was made to cross-question him, or object to his replies. It might seem like a formality used by men whose opinion was already formed. Great must have been the amazement of the prisoner at discovering that not one single syllable about his marriage, or his wife's flight, was produced against him.

Clearly to understand the gravity of the charges about to burst upon the head of Florence, it will be necessary to introduce to the reader the name of a man who had been long held in honour, but who had recently become as fatal as a pestilence to all who had ever been connected with him in amity or companionship.

Amongst the many brave men who had for years sustained the power of Elizabeth in Ireland, who formed the barrier between the wild warriors of O'Neill and the counties of the Pale, who had served through the fierce struggles of the despair of the Earl of Desmond, there was not a braver, nor an abler, nor a more respected soldier than Sir William Stanley. Nor of the multitude of knights created by Sir Henry Sidney, and the various deputies who were privileged to bestow that honour, was there one who more signally

than he did shed a lustre upon the chivalry of his country. This gallant man had held posts of high trust in Ireland; he had been a constant and intimate adviser of the cabinet of Dublin, the correspondent and friend of Burghley. Who would have imagined that there could be danger or disgrace in being the friend of such a man? Florence had served with Sir William Stanley through the seven or eight years of the wars in Desmond, and so long an association in a common enterprise and peril might justify the claim of friendship. Whilst Florence had been loitering, apparently without an object, about the Court of Elizabeth, Sir William Stanley had been sent at the head of certain bands of Irish soldiers enlisted by himself to serve under the Earl of Leicester, his especial friend and patron, in the Low Countries. How he had conducted himself there may be judged from that nobleman's despatch of 28th September, 1586, to Walsyngham.

"There was not in the field (at the battle of Zutphen) of ours, of horse, in the whole ij c. whereof these Lords and gentlemen, with their followers, to the number of iij score at most, did all this feate, with the help onlie of Sir William Stanley, who had but 300 for their 3000 foote, and he did most valiantlye himself, and his owen horsses receaved viij shott of the muskett, and yet himsealf not hurt. He and old Read are worth their weight in pearle, theie be ij of as rare captens as anie prince living hath."

Scarcely more could be written of the gallant Sir Philip Sidney, who fell upon that fatal field. And yet Stanley had seen rougher work than that fight of Zutphen. Who would suppose it possible that the loyalty of such a man could falter? Who that had known him, served and fought at his side for years in the country where he had enlisted that brave band of 300 foot, could imagine, whilst reading that choice sentence of his general, "that he was worth his weight in pearl," that the most hateful charge which an enemy could bring against him was that he had been the friend or associate of such a man?

Amongst the successes of the Earl of Leicester had been the capture of Deventer on the Isel; mainly by the address and daring of Stanley this prize had been secured, and it was not considered an undue reward that its captor should be appointed the Governor of the city. Great was the dismay, greater the grief of all who had known the long and loyal career of Sir William Stanley, when the following letter from the Privy Council was read by the Lords and the Deputy of Ireland!

"1587. January 30. *Draft of a Letter from the LORDS to the LORD DEPUTY OF IRELAND.*

"After, &c., &c., we have verie latelie receaved advertisements from the Lowe Countries that Sir William Standleie and Rowland Yorke, the

one appointed by my L. of Leicester to the governm' of the toune of Deuenter, a place of great importaunce upon the Isell, the other to the commaunding of the fort before Zutphen, recovered this Sommer by his L^p, have about the 19th of this pnt most disloially and treacherouslie deliuered over the places committed to their severall charges into hands of the enemy, and wthall not onely for there owne persons made a most shameful and traiterous revolt and defection, but also seduced and drawen after them diverse others of her Ma^a subiects, and namely those Irish bands serving under the said Stanley to do the like, to the great dishonour and sclaunder of the nation, and detriment of her Ma^a service, which fact, as we find it straung, in respect of the said Stanley, considering the generall good opinion conceaved of his loialty and fidelity; so, nowe by many circumstances induced to thinke that this treasonable revolt of his hath proceeded of some other grounds then is yet discovered. And because we have receaved many advertisements of some foreine invasion intended this yeare by the Spaniard against that realm, wherin his long trauell and experience may make him a daungerous instrument for the enemy, we have thought it meete to give your L^p knowledge thereof to thintent you maie carry a watchfull eie upon all such as you knowe to have bene his secrett freinds and dependants, and especially one Jacques de Francesco his lieutenaunt; of whom both in respect he is a stranger ill affected in religion, and noted to have had some intelligences wth Ballard, lately executed here for the conspiracie against her Ma^{ties} life, we thinke fitt to be removed out of his charge, and sent hither before this fact of his capten be divulged; bestowing such charge and commaundement as the said Stanley hath yet in enteinement there upon such other as by y^r L^p and the rest of the Council shall be found most meete and worthie for the same. We think it also meete that y^r L^p, immediatly upon the receipt hereof, do cause his house to be verie narrowly searched, and his wife and children restrained, and such of his freinds and followers as you shall suspect, to be very diligently examined. [The rest is in Burghly's writing]. And for y^r we here y^r bef^r this his treaterross act, he did send s^oe of his followars or servants from hym, as may be supposed to pass by sea into Irlād, we thynk it cōvenient that inq^rey be made, what parties are come frō hym, or may hereafter arryve in y^r realm, ether in y^e province of Moūster or elsewhere, and theruppō to mak stay of any such, and diligently to examy them of the cause of ther cōfing, and of y^e tyme of ther deuptur frō Stanley; and furd^r, to use them as you shall thynk cōvenient, both for discovery of any ther lewd purposes; and also to stay thē frō any evill attempt y^r may be in their power, and of your doyngs we reque to be advyised."

It will be within the reader's recollection that this Jacques de Franceschi, the Lieutenant of Sir William Stanley, thus arrested, had been mentioned by Sir Thomas Norreys as a chief counsellor of Florence in the affair of his marriage, the man who had advised him, "whatever you do, go through with the marriage; when all is done, it will be easy for your friends to skreen you from any serious consequences." Jacques had served under Stanley, and with Florence, in Desmond, he had borne a good name too; for upon an oc-

casion of his going to England, Adam Loftus, the Chancellor and Archbishop of Dublin, had not hesitated to give him a letter to Burghley, couched in these strong terms,—“I crave pardon for my continual boldness in troubling you so often in the behalf of such as I know to have well deserved, as especially this gentleman, amongst the worthiest of his sort, is one. During all the time of his service here, I have been thoroughly acquainted with him, and do certainly know he hath spent his time both in Ulster and Munster in her Majesty’s service, as Lieutenant to Sir William Stanley, in as forward and valiant manner as any gentleman possibly may do; sundry times lost his blood, and very hardly escaped with life; his behaviour otherwise such as may beseem a civil, honest gentleman.”

With this civil and honest gentleman, as with Stanley, Florence had been on terms of much intimacy. Here then was material for his enemies for accusation, far weightier than the contemptuous marriage.

The revolt of Stanley and the arrest of Jacques had taken place some months before the marriage; and the advice alluded to by Norreys, if ever really given, must have been given from a state-prison; the inference was damaging, as it was meant to be, to the loyalty of Florence. There had probably been a little statecraft used in dealing with this foreigner: for so summary an arrest, and committal to the tower, something more like a crime must have been urged against him than the fact of his having served under Stanley in the Queen’s army; and an accusation quite sufficient to justify this, or even a greater amount of severity, was not wanting; he was charged with having been an accomplice with Ballard, who had been executed for attempting the Queen’s life. Jacques was kept in prison for a season; the charge was then discredited, and he was sent out of the country, when his first act, naturally, was to seek Stanley, who made him his lieutenant again. To accuse Florence of high treason, to force him upon the Queen’s notice as the friend of a traitor and of an assassin, even if the charges should eventually be unproved, showed more worldly wisdom in his enemies than to make a matter of state out of the romance of his marriage.

Such, accordingly, were the charges which formed the subject of Florence’s first examination—

“1589. *March 23. Articles to be mynistred unto FLORENCE MAC CARTY.*

“1. What acquaintance he hath had wth Sir Will^m Stanley? How long, and when he laste sawe him?

“2. What l^{res} he hath written to Sir W^m. Stanley, or receaved from him, and by whom the same were conveyed? as also what messages have passed betwene them since their first acquaintance?

"3. What message he hath sent unto the said Stanley, or to any other in the partes beyond the seas, by William Hurley, his late agent ?

"4. What was the cause of the said agent's going beyonde the seas ?

"5. What l^{tes} or messages have passed between one Jaques Francischi, sometimes Sir William Stanley's Lieutenant, and one Wayman, Ensigne to the said Stanley, and whither he did not speake with the said Wayman before his departure out of Ireland.

"6. Whither he do not knowe one Ed. Bremyngham that hath remayned some good time here in England ?

"7. Whither he was not previe unto certaine messages or l^{tes} sent by the said Bremingham unto Sir William Stanley, or anie other pson in forraine partes ?

"8. Whither he did not knowe one Donough O'Conar, an Ierish man and an artificer dwelling in London, and whither the said Donough O'Conar were not sent about some spⁱall matter w^h Edw^d Bremyngham to the D. of Parma.

"9. What messages or l^{tes} have passed between the said examine and certaine Ierish Busshops, and others of that nation remayning in Spaine, w^hin the space of 2 yeares ?

"10. Whither he did not knowe one Allen Martin of Galloway, and whither he were not made previe to certaine messages and l^{tes} of his that were sent to the D. of Parma ?"

"1588. March 23. *The Exa: taken of* FLORENCE MC CARTYE the 23^d Mar, 1588.

"1. To the fyrst he saythe that he grew acquaynted w^h S^r W^m Stanley at sooche tyme as the sayd Sir W. was Shrive of the C^o of Corke.

"2. To the second he sayeth y^t he never had any dealyngs w^h the said Sir W^m Stanley sythence his departure from Her Ma^{ty}s service.

"3, 4. The thirde and 4 he denyeth, sayeing y^t he never heard of Hurley sythence his departur out of this realme.

"5. To the fifth he saythe that he receyved a message from Jacques by Wayman, w^h was only to requyre the said Exa to pay £20, dewe unto one Mr. Marberry, servaunt to the L. Chaunceler.

"6, 7, 8, 9. To the 6, 7, 8, 9, he aunswerethe negative.

"10. To the tenth he saythe that he knowethe one Allen Martyn, a student of one of the Innes of Coort, and that he was made acquainted with him by one Mr. James Fitz Edmonde's sonne, or by one Garrett, Sir Walter Rayley's servant, but dothe not knowe that the sayd Allen had any dealyngs w^h the D. of Parma."

Eight days after this examination, Florence wrote his first letter from the Tower; the first of a long series from that gloomy residence. It will be seen that it was written in good heart; indeed, it took a great deal to wring a murmur from him; and sharp must have been his trials in later life, when his letters and petitions became peevish and desponding.

"1589. *March 31.*

"After hartie comendacions, and for as much as I am as yett uncerten when I shall retourne into those parts, I have thought good, to desire yō, that uppō sight hereof, yō do not fayle to deliue^r my blak silk stoquenes (which I left yō in trust to receive with the three bookes wch I left with you to be kepte) to Mr. Browne, praiinge him, in my behalf, that he do not fayle to deliue^r those to som marchant of Dublinge that is his trusty frend, gevenge him express charge to see those thinges safely deliuerd at M^r Clasies at Westmester, in Kinges-streete, to M^{rs} Catherne Buttler, Attendaunte uppon the La: of Ormond, to be deliuerd to me, writtinge a letter to the sayd Catherne to that effect. Thus leueinge to trouble you further, with my hartie comendacions to my Frends, I take leue.

"At the Towre, the last of March, 1588.

"Your loueinge Frend,

"fflor: M^cCARTHY."

To whom the above letter was written appears not; from its tone, it is evident that the writer desired to produce amongst his friends in Ireland the impression that his restraint would not be of long duration, and that a few books would suffice to keep his mind tranquil until he should have occasion for the "blak silk stoquenes" to complete the adornment of his person for attendance at the court. The autograph of Florence, which has been preserved, would seem to have been rather a rough *copy* than the letter actually sent into Ireland; for it is written, not upon a sheet or half sheet of the paper he commonly used, but upon some stray scrap; it bears no superscription, and on the back of it is written a rough *copy* also of matter foreign to the subject of the letter, namely, a list of the sureties ready to be bound for his remaining true prisoner. The letter and the list force upon us the conviction that, by some member of the august tribunal that had judged him, Florence had been led to believe that his imprisonment would not be of long duration, and that the formal security of a few of his own friends would suffice to restore him to freedom.

"1589. *March 31.*

"The sureties that are now psently readie to enter into bonds for my true imprisōme^t are these whose names are under written.

"Mr. Charles Mac Carthy, son and heire to Donogh Mac Cormack Mac Carthy, als M^cDonogh, Chefe Lorde of the contrie of Dowalla in Cork.

"Mr. Piers Butler of Knok-in-anama w^{ch} is his chefe house. He is son to the Lo: of Caher, and brother to the Lo: of Cahir that now is, his liueing stands in the com: of Tiperary nere the towne of Clounmell.

"Capten Edward Fitz Geralde, son to Sir Maurice Fitz Thomas of Laidkagh. He is of the House of Kildare, and his liueinge stands in the com: of Kildare in the province of Leinster.

"M^r Ceallaghan Mac Conoghoir, son and heir to O'Ceallaghain, chefe

Lorde of O'Ceallaghan's countrie, that stands in the coñ of Corek by the Towne of Mala.

"They are all knowen to those of the Councell of Ireland that are appointed comissioners to heare Ireish causes, and to diuers other Gent" of this land, such as dwells, or hath to do, in Moüster chefelie."

No sooner was Florence safely shut up in the Tower, than the effect of it was felt in Desmond; and it was found, contrary to the opinion of Carewe, expressed at a later period, that it was possible to have a worse man at the head of his restless kindred. As long as he had been at liberty, the evil nature of the Earl of Clancare had been kept under some control: to what extent that reckless man had allowed himself to be guided by the advice of Florence, how efficiently that advice had operated upon his timely abandonment of his unfortunate brother-in-law of Desmond, may be matter of conjecture; but justice would seem to demand, that if Florence were denied credit for the tranquil and orderly behaviour of his father-in-law whilst he was by his side, he should not have been blamed for the excesses into which the Earl fell when he was removed from him; and yet to the "vengeful feelings of Florence" was attributed every irregularity that now disturbed the peace of Munster. Very vague and cloudy seems to have been the comprehension of the Earl of Clancar, of the terms on which he stood with Browne, in consequence of the so called mortgage of his lands: and to assist him in his perplexity, he had but a strange counsellor to appeal to. The life of this nobleman had been dissolute and scandalous; a family of bastards, if they did not actually live under the same roof with his Countess and his daughter, certainly were openly acknowledged by him; and the fame of their evil conduct filled the country in which they resided. Of this base brood, Donell was his father's favourite. He had certainly one virtue, for he was brave; but his vices were especial and past numbering. Of very limited intelligence, with such acquirements only as he could derive from the outcasts of his father's swordsmen, Donell is represented as an utter savage. He was a murderer, and less a rebel than a robber. He had been so fortunate as to break his way out of Her Majesty's prison, and from that time lived under the ban of every ruler in Munster, in woods, and bogs inaccessible, the enemy of all honest men, but most especially the hater and tormentor of Nicholas Browne and all that belonged to him. That fearless undertaker, with two of his brothers, had made their home, as we have mentioned, in the wilds of Desmond; they had imported numerous English labourers, and by their intelligence, capital, and industry, raised a thriving settlement in the howling wilderness in which Donell, and evil spirits like him, prowled and ravened. Peace and the Brownes parted the day they first had dealings with

the Earl of Clancartie. Their cattle were seized, their horses were maimed or slaughtered, their villages plundered and burnt, their English followers murdered, and, as the eldest of the brothers truly said, everything was done to scare them from the country. But Nicholas Browne was not a man to be intimidated. He had obtained from Sir Thomas Norreys a guard of horsemen in the Queen's pay, to protect his property; and every now and then he sallied forth at their head, in pursuit of his arch enemy. In these "journies" Donell lost many of his followers, but they were more easily replaced than the burned villages, or even than the slaughtered horses. In spite of Browne, Donell kept his head upon his shoulders; and when the horsemen returned, jaded and disappointed from their chase, he was again down upon village and homestead, burning, maiming, murdering, till the heart of Nicholas Browne was frenzied by rage. In the midst of this exciting domestic warfare, Browne learned to his dismay—Donell, doubtless, in a transport of exultation—that the queen would no longer tolerate the burthen of these charges of horsemen quartered through the country wherever there was an undertaker to be protected. The former wrote at once to the minister, that his ruin was inevitable if his guard were to be withdrawn, and that without them he must abandon his signory, after all the pains and charges he had been at.

With Donell there was no reasoning; the filmy niceties of the law lay beyond his intellectual perception. Sufficient was it for him to know that Mr. Browne's stacks of corn were unguarded; a garran, a cow, or an Englishman astray at dusk, or early dawn, for him and his forty loose swords to burst upon them without mercy, to appropriate to himself what he could remove, and to hang the Englishman if he had the address to capture him; but from the Earl more moderation might fairly be looked for; and, in fact, not until his son-in-law had been sent to England did he evince any inclination to defy the law. Every atrocity committed by Donell, Browne had ascribed to the malice of Florence, who, as he declared, set him on by secret advertisement from England. To Florence certainly could not be attributed the "presumptuous dealinge" which, in proof of the accomplishment of his many evil prophecies, St. Leger now reported to Burleigh:—

"1589. *June 22.* S^t. LEGER to BURGHLEY.

"The Earle of Clanker upon Tuesdaie laste cañ wth a hundred men with him in forceable manner to a peece of grownde founde in offyce for the Queenes Ma^{tie} called Clan Donnell Roe, being xxvth plowe landes, the which Landes one Alexander Clarke holdeth as an undertaker from Mr. Attorney geñall of Englande, yt beinge parcell of the Seignyorie that her highnes dysposed on the said Mr. Attorney, and dyspossessed the said Clarke, threatning him that yf he wolde not departe the landes he wolde

kyll him and all his, usinge farder prowde contemptuous wordes to the said Clarke, whoe reproved him for his presumptuous dealinge, in dyspossessinge him out of the Queenes landes, sainge to him that yt wold not be well taken of the L: Deputie, and Vicepresydent when he shold complaine to them of these his doinges. The said Earle prowdlie answeringe him, that nether the L. Deputie nor Vicepresydent sholde have to do with those landes, for rather he wolde spende his lyfe then anie man shold enioy those landes but him selfe. Saininge further to the said Clarke that yf he and his companie wold not departe those landes, he wold cut them in peeces. And presentlie willed his men to kyll the said Clarke, which they had don, he beinge amongste them, had he not ben mounted upon a good horse, they beinge a foote, and through a pystall he had, which he bent againste them, and by that meanes and his horse together broke from amongste them, otherwyse he had not come hither to have declared his grieve. And not thus contented with his unlawfull acte, he tooke from the said grounde twoe paiers geldinges and a hackney caryinge them with him into his contrie, and will not delyver them. And besydes sent certen of his men to take such other cattell as there was upon the saide grounde, but those were rescued by Clarke and his companie. By this his outrageous doinge and threatninge wordes the poore gentleman is constrained to forsake the grounde, a matter (under correction) not to be let passe over without severe punyshment, for yf this be suffered to be let goe with him unpunished, in vayne will it be for anie undertakers to settle in this contrie. I wold to God the said wicked Earle had ben kepte in Inglande when he was there, for he was never borne to do good to this contrie. It is greatlie to be feared that his doinges ys but a preparatyve to a further myschiefe. The cause that moveth me thus much to wryte is for that a Base sonn of his called Donnell Mac Cartie haith latelie mordered an honeste subiecte of the Queene dwellinge in Desmonde for reprovinge him in usinge Irish extorcoñs, who presentlie (upon fyndinge falte with him therefore) with his skeyne stobd him in thre or fower places in the bodie, whereof he presentlie dyed. Synce which his detestable morder he is out with xvj^{ea} or xx^{tie} swordes, playinge the Robyn Hood in takinge meate, dryncke, and spoyle where he can get yt, not without the consente of his wicked father, as yt is here generallie geven out; and to confyrme yt to be true, he contynueth and his companie in his fathers contrie within fower myles of him when he is fardeste of. The which he colde not do, were yt not by his fathers sufferance, considering how he is prosecuted by the Vicepresidentes forces, for yf his father had a good will to bannyshe him, yt were unpossyble for him to nessel in that contrie as he doeth. It is thought that this detestable morder was comytted by the Earles consente, for that the partie mordered wolde not relieve him with money, to beare out his druncken charges at Doblyn."

This raid by the Earl upon his own lands of Clan Donnell Roe appears to have attracted very little notice beyond the report made of it to Burghley; indeed, it seems exceedingly doubtful whether any offence against the law had been committed at all; and notwithstanding Sir Warham St. Leger's talk of severe punishment, this

military promenade seems to have concerned the Privy Council of England very little; and had Mr. Alexander Clarke not been so fortunate as to terrify the hundred followers of the Earl with his pistol bent against them, had the hasty command to kill the said Clarke been executed, it would but have cost Sir Warham St. Leger the addition of a line to his letter, and Mr. Attorney-General Popham an advertisement for a new undertaker. Such were not the elements out of which quarrels were made in those days between the authorities and the native lords.

The nature of the transaction between the Earl and Browne was worthier of the shrewdness than of the wisdom of Sir Valentine, who had not lent his money at a given rate of interest upon security of the Earl's lands, but had received a large tract of country,—33 quarters, nearly double the quantity for which he figures in the list made out by Phyton and Popham,—out of which to indemnify himself for the interest of his loan. How little Browne ever contemplated the parting with a single acre of these lands, is manifest from his subsequent proceedings. In the contract made with the Earl was a clause empowering him at any time he pleased, on payment of the moneys advanced to him, to reclaim his lands: that he would never do this—that, if he had the will, he would never have the means—Browne was quite certain; and as by law this land, with all the Earl's inheritance, would at his death revert to the Queen, it followed that at that time Browne must lose all security for his money. To guard against this contingency, he applied for letters patent, granting him a lease in perpetuity of the said lands at a moderate rent, urging with great truth that he had introduced English civility, and obedience to English law, into that wild country—that he had invested a large capital there, and imported many English Protestants, whose loyalty was unquestionable. His petition was granted; a patent prepared under his own eye, and to which no formality or legal learning was denied, was accorded to him; and from that moment the utmost foresight of Browne could perceive no hindrance, save Donell and his outlaws, to the full enjoyment of his acquisition. He had yet to learn how easily the most wary may sometimes slip, and how elastic are the ingenuities and resources of the law. For the present he had overreached a needy and unprincipled man, and appears to have excited little sympathy with his complaints against the acts of violence which troubled his repose. It was not until Florence became his adversary, instead of Donell, that the law moved in the matter.

Many months had elapsed since Florence had been withdrawn from the society of his fellow-men, and no more was heard of him than if he had slept the while within the vaults of the Tower Chapel. No murmur against her Highness' decision escaped him, no petition for mercy kept alive his offence in the memory of the Queen;

but his Irish chronicles, and his own dreams for the future, sustained him in good courage, whilst the conduct of his relations in Desmond was such as might almost have made Browne himself a suitor for his release. Much that is obscure in the career of Florence would be presently enlightened, if we could give ready faith to that declaration of Nicholas Browne,—“I know him to be a great briber to his power.” It is certain that from the prison in which his silent life was gliding by, he found means to awaken the interest of some one in his behalf. What had become of his young wife all this time no one seems to have known; all search after her had long ago ceased; the lady was probably of sufficient age by this time, certainly had been too long married, to allow, with any decency, the renewal of the project of a divorce. Florence was not a man to trust anything to hazard; and we may therefore conclude that he knew well beforehand what would be the result of the following petition, which, after sixteen months of imprisonment, was presented to Lord Burghley. If this petition were granted there was an end for ever to all question concerning his marriage, or the withdrawal of his wife. The tone, also, of the petition plainly shows his conviction that all anger upon the subject had passed away from the mind of the Queen; for he has not denied himself some little triumph in the address with which, in spite of the vigilance of the Munster authorities, the escape had been conducted, and in the secrecy with which, from that time to the present, the lady had been concealed. Of the formidable charge against him of treasonable complicity with Stanley and Jacques, not a word more was uttered for several years:—

“May 14th, 1590. To the RIGHT HON^{ble} THE LO. BOURGHLEY, L. Highe Tresorer of England, 14 May, 1590.

“In most humble manner beseceth yo^r Hon^{ble} good Lo: Florence Mc Carthy; that where ThErle of Clancarty, hath by S^r Valentine Browne’s meanes, and by misinforminge the Lo: Deputie of Ireland, procured his letters to the commissioners in Mounster to deliue^r yo^r sup^{ts} wife, Ellyn M^cCarthy, into his hands, who was accordingly deliue^d into the hands of such of his men as he apointed to receve her, by whom she beinge somewhat hardly used, she is about a yere and a half ago escaped frō them, and hath eu^r since kept herselfe in such sorte as few men knowes what is become of her: And for as much as the sayd Earle doth dayly make search for her there, to have her brought into his owne hands, with intent to dispose of her, accordinge to his pleasure, and contrary to her will, and mynd; he therefore most humblie beseceth yo^r good L^p to direct yo^r letters to the Vice President of Mounster, that the sayd Earle or anie other be not permitted to offer her anie wronge, or other molestacōn, and that she may be sufferd to liue at his house, or wth his frends, where she shal be always forthcominge at yo^r Lo^{ps} pleasure; and that none of her frends that hath kept or reluiued her, may be troubled for the same; and he shall pray, &c.

“fflor: M^cCARTHY.”

The signature of Sir Owen Hopton, on a slip of separate paper, is affixed to the foot of this letter.

Florence had occasion at a later period to refer again incidentally to this flight of his wife; but then, as now, prudence withheld him from giving any more details concerning it. His petition was granted, and the fugitive now appeared openly at the court of Elizabeth as a suitor for her husband's release from the Tower. The Queen could scarcely have given this young bride her liberty without being prepared to restore her husband to her; for the wife at Court, and the husband in the Tower, was a position so false for all parties concerned in it, that it could scarcely last; seven months more, however, elapsed before she obtained his liberation; but in the meanwhile all who were skilled in interpreting the royal mind might unerringly have predicted, not alone the freedom of the prisoner, but his reinstatement in royal favour. Calculating that the ruin of Florence was complete when they had seen the Tower gates fairly close upon him, a flight of human vultures had descended upon his lands, the hungriest of whom, and the most audacious, were the son-in-law of Her Majesty's Attorney-General, Rogers—and his agent, Worth.

The next venture of Florence was to petition the Queen that his property might be protected as long as it was her royal pleasure to disallow his return to Ireland. The following order, extracted from the Registers of the Privy Council, will show the progress he was making in the royal favour:—

“ 1590. *December 15th.*

“ For as much as Her Majesty's pleasure is that the suppliant shall not during the time of his restraint here receive any prejudice in his right, these are to require you to take present order as well that his servants officers and tenants may be continued in the peaceable possession of the said lands and castles, and that they may not be removed or evicted from the same until he shall be able to answer for the defence and title thereunto. As also that such sureties as have been committed to prison, or otherwise damnified by distresses taken upon their goods for default of the presence of such of the suppliant's servants as could not by reason of their attendance here upon the Lady Ellen Mac Carthy his wife repaire unto that Realm, according to their bondes, may be released and set at liberty, and their goods restored unto them. And likewise that Daniel Roche, Alonse O'Brien, and Edmund Slabagh, or any of the servants of the said Florence Mac Carthy may be permitted at all times to repaire into that province, or any other parte of that Realm, and to return hither again, behaving themselves as dutiful subjects, with such commodities and other necessary things as they shall transporte for the use and relief of their said Master, whereof praying you to have such convenient

regard that there may be no further occasion of complaints by them made unto us in this business.

“To the LORDS JUSTICES.”

By the preceding official communication the Irish authorities must have been made aware that powerful influence was busy in working for the pardon of Florence. Of all his friends none served him more practically than the Earl of Ormond, who came forward to stand security for him in the sum of a thousand pounds. This security availed to obtain his freedom. On the 19th of January an order from the Privy Council was directed to the Lieutenant of the Tower—

“To set Florence Mac Carthy at liberty upon certain notice given him by Mr. Wills and Mr. Wade, Clerks of Her Majesty’s Privy Council, that the Earl of Ormond is entered bond for £1000 here to Her Majesty’s use, with condition that the said Florence now under his charge shall not depart the realm, nor three miles from the city of London, nor repaire to the court without special license in that behalf first had and obtained from Her Majesty’s Privy Council; He likewise having first taken bond of the said Florence himself of £2000 with condition as above said: and touching the charge of his diete &c. during his being there, because of his present inability, the said Lieutenant must staie till the next warrant.”

On the 24th of December, 1589, terminated the hospitality which Florence had, under successive governors, received for twenty-three months in Her Majesty’s Tower of London. A few days later, Sir Michael Blount duly entered on his domestic register the charges for which he sought reimbursement. One of these Tower bills the reader has already seen; that which follows evinces no unbecoming stint in the entertainment of his guest:—

“For Diett and charges of Florence M^cCarty beginning the 24th June 1589, and ending the 24th of December then next following, being 26 weeks at 26^s 8^d the week for himself £33 ,, 13 ,, 4. Two keepers at 10^s the week £13. Fewell and candells at 8^s the week £10 ,, 8. Total £57 ,, 1 ,, 4.”

The imprisonment of Florence had lasted two years all but a month; but though actually confined all this time within the walls of the Tower, and to that portion of it precisely called “The Cold Harbert,” the nature of his imprisonment was by no means the same during the earlier and later part of his stay there; so different indeed was it, that whilst he describes himself during the first few months as a *close prisoner*, he alludes to the later period as to his

first liberty. We have seen that the earliest letter written by him from the Tower was not allowed to go forth without the signature at foot of Sir Owen Hopton; his later petitions are without this stamp of his captivity.

Florence was now comparatively free; he was not indeed free to return to Ireland, nor to stray three miles from the city of London; but he was at liberty, for the first time since his marriage, to live in the society of his wife, and to resume without restraint the acquaintances he had had at court before his troubles commenced, and thus to take more effective measures to obtain his entire liberty to return to his own country. No murmur is extant in any of his writings during these last two years against the restraint he had suffered; but how bitter was the impression produced by it in his mind we shall learn a few years later, when he declared to Carewe, in scarcely disguised terms, that he would rather break into open rebellion, or fly from his country, than expose himself to a second imprisonment. No charge is more frequently made against Florence by his enemies than that of *ingratitude*. In the hypocritical language of the day, this liberation from the Tower, after two years' imprisonment, for having made a contemptuous marriage, is described as a great grace and bounty of Her Highness! That Florence did receive favours from the Queen, his letters frequently and emphatically declare, but it does not seem to have occurred to him that this was one of them. What he would indeed have considered as an especial favour at this time, would have been the permission to return to Munster; and to obtain this he became one of a portentous list of suitors, who wearied the heart of the minister with his petitions. The rigid conditions of his bond were speedily relaxed, for we find him attending the royal progresses with his petitions; but no entreaty, no influence could for some time longer obtain for him permission to make a brief visit to Ireland; and when at last he had recovered so much favour with the Queen as to accomplish this, it was still as one nominally a prisoner, and within the restraint of the penalties of his bail, should it please the minister to enforce them.

Had Florence been able from his abode in the Tower, or even from his lodgings in Westminster, to manage his Munster estates, and derive a regular income from them, it would have been by far the most surprising thing that he ever achieved. This he found impossible. Several of the undertakers, and some even of his own family, concluding that he was not likely ever to pass out from his cell in the Tower, had scrambled for his lands; confusion had ensued; his money resources were cut off, and, like other gentlemen in similar difficulties, he was driven to seek the means of subsistence by mortgaging and leasing his estates; and it may be remarked, as a little suggestive at least, that these transactions, ruinous to himself

as he represented them, and consequently beneficial to the other parties concerned in them, were entered into, not with undertakers of Browne's stamp, but with Sir Thomas Norreys, and others in authority in Ireland, and with gentlemen living, like himself, at the court. These transactions became the subject of litigation in after years; and we thus learn the names of many who, when the time of his second trouble came, strove to profit by his friendless position, to extort an interest almost as usurious as that of the Brownes; but even this resource began to fail him at last, and he fell into the inevitable misfortune of contracting heavy debts in London. These debts increased, for at this time his wife was living with him, and he had no longer Sir Owen Hopton and Sir Michael Blount to pay his monthly bills for "diette," "fewell," and other necessities; his Munster remittances diminished, and the tone of his creditors ascended by the usual scale of hints, remonstrances, and threats.

Ever since his liberation from the Tower, Florence had been earnestly pressing his suit for permission to return to Ireland. He had fairly won the good opinion and friendly influence of Burghley, and of his son, Sir Robert Cecyl, the former of whom joined with Lady Ellen to solicit this grace from Elizabeth. The friendly endeavours of Burghley are made known to us by Florence's writing; but for the influence which prevailed with the Queen to render all solicitations in his favour vain for a considerable time longer, we must look elsewhere, and the search is neither long nor difficult. Every enemy of Florence in Ireland,—Barry, Fenton, Browne, the Bishop of Cork, Denny, and a host that was countless,—poured their insinuations, auguries, charges, and warnings into the ear of Sir Francis Walsyngham. The Attorney-General, Sir John Popham, defeated in his designs of carving signories for himself and his son-in-law, Rogers, out of Florence's lands in Carbury, corroborated every tale of his ambition and disloyalty; and thus was formed around the Privy Council and the Queen an united opposition, which effectually resisted the friendly exertions of Burghley, and the entreaties of Florence's wife, until delay had so greatly multiplied his pecuniary difficulties, that he was compelled to abandon his suit to return to his home, and in lieu of it to solicit for "relief and some "present means of living." The petition which he sent to Burghley at this time is, for many reasons, one of peculiar interest. So involved was he in difficulties with his creditors, that he was afraid to venture abroad, even to call on the minister, lest he should be arrested. His wife was now far advanced in pregnancy, unable to travel with him to Ireland, even had permission been granted to him to go, and he had no resources to leave with her for her support in England; hence he writes to Lord Burghley that he no longer desires his return; but prays that Her Majesty may be moved to allow to him and to his wife some maintenance, as long as it

shall please her to keep him in England. This letter is one of the most pleasing of the many extant in Florence's writing. It is valuable, not only as proving that Burghley's conduct to him was really friendly, but as showing that up to this time, at least, the fruits of his marriage were not wholly bitter.

Had Carewe not forced Florence to extremities, he might possibly in his great prudence have kept Carbry and Desmond from insurrection; and had the same unscrupulous man forborne to tamper with the vain weak mind of his wife, Florence's matrimonial life might have endured happily to the end. That his disposition was singularly forbearing and gentle, that he was averse to strife, even with his enemies, is sufficiently proved; and certainly not his bitterest enemy ever reproached him with any failing that could justly forfeit the confidence and affection of his wife:—

“1592. June 17. MR. FLORENCE M^{re} CHARTIE TO MY LO. BURGHLEY.

“Right Hon. my most humble dutie remembered. Having heeretofore divers times entreated your Hon Lo^p to be a meane unto Her Ma^t that I might have leve to go into my countrey seeing I have no meanes to maintain myself here, and perceevinge by Your Lo^p at my last being with your Honor that you moved Her Ma^tie therein whom your Lo^p found unwilling to grant it, I have thereupon caused my wife not to trouble Her Ma^tie any further for the same, and willed her to sue for some maintenance whereby myself and Shee might live until Her Ma^tie granted my libertie which she hath don still since my being with your Lo^p, all which time I could never acquaint your Lo^p withal, because I dare not go before your Lo^p or anywhere else abroad for fear of being arested for myne owne and my wyfes diet; and for as much as she doth now fynd Her Ma^tie well inclined thereunto, and that Her Highness doth daily promise to give order to your Lo^p for her, I am therefore most humblie to beseech your Hon. Lo^p to move Her Ma^tie now for me, and to be a mean that I may be partly releived with some maintenance whereby myself and my wife and folkes may live whyle Her Ma^tie shall think good to kepe me here, beseeching Your Lo^p not to move her Ma^tie for my libertie to go into Ireland, because I am not desirous to go thither, knowing Her Ma^tie to be unwilling, as also that I have no meanes to leave my wyfe any maintenance, who is great with child, and not able to go any where, thus beseeching your Lop to be myndful of me, herein I humbly take leave this 16th of June 1592.

“Y^r Lo^p most humble to command,

“fflor. M^cCARTHYE.”

This petition, seconded by the influence of Lord Burghley, was graciously accepted by the Queen. Amongst Her Majesty's virtues, few were so conspicuous as her frugality; her royal grandsire himself had not more reluctantly parted with the smallest coin of the treasure of the commonwealth than she did. Florence's dis-

tresses increased daily, and his urgent prayer was for prompt rescue from the pursuit of threatening creditors, and for money for his maintenance. Both suits were graciously acceded to; the one immediately, and the other without unreasonable delay. In the manner in which the Queen administered to his present relief there was an admirable simplicity. Florence obtained, not indeed a sum of money, but what was for the time of equal value to a receipt in full from every money-lender whose bailiffs were on his track; it was a warrant of protection against arrest for debt. The second portion of his suit required a little more deliberation; but we shall see in the sequel that in the means by which this also was accomplished, there was even greater proof of royal ingenuity than in the former. Florence had been married nearly three years, and was still childless; the circumstance of his wife's pregnancy, which he mentioned to Burghley, to show how urgent was his need of present assistance, it is no exaggeration to say, moved the hearts of men in Munster more than would the birth of a royal child have stirred the feelings of Englishmen. A male child would one day inherit Carbery from his father, Desmond from his mother, and save from extinction the time-honoured and historic designation of MacCarthy mor. It pleased Providence that a male child should be born, and as we should judge from Florence's last letter to Lord Burghley, in humble lodgings in London, and under circumstances of painful pecuniary privations; but no sooner was Lady Ellen restored to health, than she repaired with the young heir to Ireland; and how this child was there welcomed, the keen eyes of the Bishop of Cork were the first to perceive. A year earlier his Lordship had made a discovery somewhat akin to this, viz., that this babe's grandmother, the old Countess of Clan Carty, was with child. After thirteen months of patient gestation that venerable lady had not yet produced a male heir to mar the welcome of Florence's child; that welcome now scandalized the Bishop, who at once wrote to Sir Geoffry Fenton upon the matter, and Sir Geoffry Fenton, not less affected, passed the tidings on to the Lord Treasurer:—

“1593. *March 8th.* *The BISHOP OF CORK AND CLONE to SIR G. FENTON* (enclosure in Fenton's letter of 15th March to Wals^m).

“My dewtie remembred to y^r Worship. I thought yt my dutie to certifie you of such thinges as are of importance, and concerne the state. Heare is a yonge childe of Fynnyng M^cChartyes, who after this countrey manner is used amonge the people as a yonge Prince, caryed abowt the contrey wth three nurses, and six horssmen, when he removeth to anie place; and happie is he that can have him to foster for a moneth! and so from moneth to moneth, to the best of the contrey to be fostred, wth such songes of reioycinge in the praise of his father Fynnyng, and the yong Impe, that yt weare good his father at his cominge over shold be looked

unto, wch wilbe very shortlie, as his cossyn Donnell M^cChartye, wch came latelie owt of England told me; and delyvered unto me manie other matters, wch I cannot now sett downe because of the hast of the messenger; but at lardge you shall haue yt by the next that cometh. So humblie take my leaue.

“Yo^r Wō's at Coñmaundm^t”

“viiij M^ccij 1592.

“WILLIAM CORKE & CLONE.”

“1593. *March 15.* SIR GEOFFRY FENTON to BURLEIGH.

“My dutie used, uppon p̄closinge of the joynt l^r now sent to your L. consistinge uppon manie ptes I receaved this adu^tisement inclosed from the Bushop of Corke wch I am bold to sende to yo^r L. wth the priuilege of the Ld Deputie whome I first acquainted wth the contents thereof. This outward pompe used towardes the childe, beinge far above the usage of the best and greatest psons in that province, maketh shoue of an inward pretente to raise an extraordinarie greatnes to the parents, and to drawe a multytude of followers to be readie to serve a torne, when fyttē oportunitye shold offer: wch beinge considered wth the father's former ambiçō not unknowne to yo^r L. mynistreth cause to dowbt further inconveniences by that famly, and to pvent them. Fynnyn Mc Arty the father is as yet about London or the court, who though he be (as I heare) in some towardnes to retorne hither yet (wth y^r L. favor) yt weare not amyss to have him still detyned there, either directlie by authoritie or by device, at least tyll this sommer be passed over, for yf any attempt be made in Mounster by the forreine enemye, there is none in all the province so likely to become the head of a faction, or to move or countenance a tumult, as he, whereof I make bold to adu^tise yo^r L. onely, and so to leaue yt to yo^r L. further will and pleasure. In grett haste.

“At Dublyn the 15 M^cij 1592. G. FENTON.”

An account, thus substantiated, might be very opportune to furnish the minister with a ready answer to Florence when he should next appear with the story of his pecuniary grievances; but it needed local jealousies, and enemies as bitter as Fenton and the Bishop, to put it forward as a fit reason for prolonging Florence's restraint. Donell Pipy had carried back from London to Munster tidings of the approaching birth of Florence's child. He had carried back also news of other matter more alarming. Florence was in favour at court! and especially protected by Burghley and Cecyl! the common enemy would assuredly be let loose! The amount of Florence's influence with those statesmen was greater than Donel reported, or his enemies would have readily believed.

(*To be continued.*)